

A N

# ANSWER

To a late Pamphlet, Intituled,  
OBSERVATIONS

ON THE

WRITINGS

OF THE

CRAFTSMAN.

Being a Third

LETTER of *ADVICE*,

to the People of *Great-Britain*  
and *Ireland*, &c.

---

---

L O N D O N :

Printed for R. FRANKLIN in *Russel-street*, *Covent-*  
*Garden*, 1731.

*Paul Henry*



A

P A M

**I** Have a  
cant,  
*rious S*  
of a M  
Indign  
start u  
the usual C  
when the A  
Face throug  
The *Pain*  
on to these  
Words, wit  
any End, t  
find the *Gen*  
not having  
Things beco  
stances whi  
thought that  
Value stamp  
have order  
Performanc  
the Kingdo



A N

# A N S W E R

ε To a late

## P A M P H L E T, &c.

I Have always had the utmost Contempt for insignificant, unreasoning, florid Declamations upon *serious Subjects*. When the most important Concerns of a Nation are at Stake, I confess, it moves my Indignation to see a *little Epigrammatical Politician*, start up, with a Shool-boy's Conceit, dress'd out in the usual Ornaments of such Compositions; especially, when the Author's sordid Purpose stares us full in the Face through every Line.

The *Pamphlet*, which lies before me and gives Occasion to these Thoughts, is indeed such a pompous Jargon of Words, without answering any one Point, or aiming at any End, that it may seem beneath all Criticism; and I find the *Gentlemen concern'd* look upon it in this Light, by not having taken the least Notice of it; but, as many Things become considerable, by some particular Circumstances which attend them; so, perhaps, it may be thought that even this *frothy Piece of Pedantry* hath some Value stamp'd upon it by the Approbation of *Those*, who have order'd their *Creatures* to cry it up as an excellent Performance, and taken great Pains to propagate it through the Kingdom. This will, at least, be my Excuse for be-  
Rowing

flowing a few cursory Remaaks upon it, without any Regard to the *Thing* itself, or the *Author* of it.

One Way of exposing the Nothingness of *such Productions*, is by throwing back the *Shuttlecock*; and making Use of their own little Turns to condemn the Cause, which They mean to defend. That this frivolous Manner of Writing may appear in a stronger Light, I will begin with shewing that, in many Places, the same Sentence, with the Change or Omission only of a Word or two, will read much better on the contrary Side. I hope the *Observer* will not make any Objections to this Method of dallying with Him; since it hath been so often practis'd by his ingenious Brethen, the Writers against the *Craftsman*; and He will perceive, from the Sequel, that it is not my Design to dwell long upon such a trifling Way of answering an Adversary; but only to expose it, and for the Sake of reviving my Schoolboy's Talent of writing upon a *Theme*.

For this Reason, I shall not trouble myself with the personal Circumstances of the *Author*.—Sometimes He *hunts* with the *Minister*. Sometimes, He turns over the mouldy Records of Philosophers, But, by his frequent *Theological Allusions*, and his favourite Peal of Bells, He seems to be a *Divine*; whom the Death of the Bishop of *Durham*, and the *Train-Trow* of Preferments, ensuing upon that Event, have affected with the warm Scent of some fat *Benefice*.—Poor *Caleb*! How the most ordinary Events are turn'd to thy Destruction?

I shall now proceed to the *Author's* Words, with a few *paraphrastical Alterations*, distinguish'd in *Italicks*.

‘ I am not ignorant of the unequal Terms, upon which  
‘ He enters the Lists in a Paper-War, who draws his  
‘ Pen on the defensive Side. Those, who engage the  
‘ *Hopes*, the *Covetousness*, and the *Ambition* of Mankind  
‘ to their Party, will generally, I fear, lead more numer-  
‘ ous Troops and find much better Encouragement than  
‘ Those, who solicit the *Love of their Country* and appeal  
‘ to Justice.

‘ For as most Men have those Passions, whilst few are  
‘ blest'd with a *publick Spirit*, and *Men are generally more*  
‘ *fond*

‘ *fond of a*  
‘ *Court-Fav*  
‘ much gre  
‘ most conc  
‘ But not  
‘ the *self im*  
‘ times labo  
‘ as I flatter  
‘ of their  
‘ Flattery,  
‘ tures to g  
‘ deterr'd  
‘ from ente  
‘ Design, F  
‘ *Craftsman*

The first  
a Right of  
throughout  
to the Dej  
Meaning  
ment.

First, th  
there is an  
Falshoods v  
is only an U  
thor is mu  
Him; and  
Those, who  
with unlin

The ne  
ment, is th  
are to und  
I believe  
this *Author*  
the *Post-C*  
dulg'd in  
to frank I  
off and di  
by which  
Hawkers  
Officers h

' *fond of a PENSION than a PILLORY*; so the Glare of  
' *Court-Favour*, though nevet so *basely acquir'd*, will dazzle  
' much greater Numbers than the clearest Reasoning and  
' most conclusive Arguments will ever enlighten.

' But notwithstanding the Disadvantages, which, from  
' the *self interested Disposition of Human Kind*, They some-  
' times labour under, who undertake the juster Cause;  
' as I flatter myself that on some Occasions, the Honesty  
' of their Minds may recoil against their Propensity to  
' Flattery, and will not suffer the Depravity of their Na-  
' tures to get the better of their Conciences; I shall not be  
' deterr'd by the Discouragements I have enumerated  
' from entering into a short Examination of the original  
' Design, Progress and Effects of the Writings against the  
' *Craftsman*.

The first Article of Impeachment is their having *usurp'd*  
a Right of circulating guarded Treasons and weekly Falshoods  
throughout the Kingdom.——But before We proceed  
to the Defence, it is necessary to define and settle the  
Meaning of the Terms made Use of in the Indict-  
ment.

First, the Phrase, *usurping*, seems to acknowledge that  
there is an undoubted, indefeazeable Right of circulating  
Falshoods vested in some Persons; and that the *Craftsman*  
is only an *Usurper* of it: If this is really the Case, our Au-  
thor is much to be commended for endeavouring to *depose*  
Him; and for my Part, I am ready to own the Right of  
Those, who have so long exercis'd this noble Imperfection  
with unlimited Authority.

The next remarkable Term, made Use of in the Indict-  
ment, is the Word *circulating*; by which, I presume, We  
are to understand sending Papers about the Country; and  
I believe the best *Circulators* will be found on the Side of  
this Author and his Patrons; for They have the Clerks of  
the Post-Office, Customs and Excise; who are not only in-  
dulg'd in the same Privilege with Members of Parliament  
to *frank Letters*, but may possibly be commanded to take  
off and disperse many Papers, even at the *publick Expence*;  
by which Means, They are become the most considerable  
*Hawkers* in the Kingdom. I am likewise told, that *these*  
*Officers* have been lately laid under some Restraints, and  
pro-

prohibited, on Pain of Dismission, from getting a Penny in their Way, by *circulating* any of the *Craftsman's guarded Treasons*. Their chief Business, at present, consists in *circulating weekly Falshoods* and the *unguarded, explicit Treasons* of the *London Journal* and the *Free-Briton*.

In the last Place, the Term *guarded Treasons* deserves some Notice.

I never apprehended before, that there was any other Species of *written Treason*, but *asserting the Pretender's Right to the Crown*, or *denying That of his present Majesty King George*, and the *Succeſſion in his Family*. Is the *Craftsman* guilty, upon this Article, by constantly and clearly defending the *Principles of the Revolution*, and the *Parliamentary Right of limiting the Succeſſion to the Crown*? No; the *Treason*, with which he stands charg'd, is *guarded Treason*. Guarded by *what*?—By the *Law*; that is, *Treason*, which the *Law* hath not declared to be *Treason*. I don't like, by any Means, this new Species of *Treason*, which is not to be found in our *Statute-Books*. *Guarded Treason*, in the Hands of a *guarded Minister*, may prove very dangerous. I take *this Term*, according to its natural Interpretation, to mean something, which might be wrested into *Treason* in a Court of Justice, if the *Law* did not guard the *pretended Delinquent*; something, which would be call'd *Treason*, if We had an *Attorney-General*, and *no Law*; but is not *Treason*, since we have *Law*, as well as an *Attorney-General*.—This same *Law* is a strange, uncourtly, uncomplaisant Sort of a Thing; and ties up the Hands of an *angry Minister*, in a most unreasonable Manner.

But since *this Writer* hath thought fit to coin a new Species of *Treason*, I must put him in Mind, that there is not a more heinous Kind of *Treason*, than to undermine those Foundations of the Constitution, which equally support the *Rights of the Crown*, and the *Liberties of the People*. They are inseparably cemented together; and he, who attempts to shake the *one*, must of Course weaken the *other*.

Before I leave this Head, I must just take Notice that the Case of poor Mr. *D'Anvers*, seems to be very odd and extraordinary. Whilst he is openly threaten'd with Correction by *one Writer*, who is a *profess'd Nonjuror* *Parson*, for being *too much a Whig*, and having spoken disrespect-

fully of  
might sa  
ving a  
Crown,  
the Case  
Eight; v  
burn'd fo  
reigner)  
duntur P

If the  
to be a  
him to b  
ment ag  
ceed fro  
Earbery;  
Way of  
Charact  
an Advoc

But to  
' P. 7  
' pal Au  
' laboure  
' as igno  
' and M  
' proved  
' ventio  
' past BL  
' But  
' lick Pa  
' Gospe  
' chance  
' crease

I had  
Author,  
worthily  
sturb the  
Ministers  
mon is st  
supporte

But th  
which C  
on.

fully of some of the *Stuarts*, he is charg'd by another (I might say by several others) with being a *Jacobite*, and having a Design to set up the *Pretender*, who claims the Crown, as Heir of *that Family*.—This is somewhat like the Case of our Countrymen in the Reign of *Harry the Eighth*; when they were hang'd for being *Papists*, and burn'd for being *Protestants*; *Dij immortales!* (cry'd a *Foreigner*) *quomodo vivunt Homines in istis Regionibus? Suspenduntur Papistici; comburuntur Anti-Papistici.*

If the *Author of the Observations* should likewise prove to be a *Nonjuring Parson*, (as the Town generally supposes him to be) I leave it to be consider'd whether his Resentment against the *Writings of the Craftsman*, may not proceed from the same *Motives*, which actuate his Brother *Earbery*; and whether he might not think the most politic Way of venting his Spleen, was to take upon himself the Character of a *Courtier*, and write under the Disguise of an Advocate for the *Ministry*.

But to proceed in our Author's Strain.

' P. 7. *A certain, GREAT MAN* hath, by a sort of *Papal Authority*, taken upon him to *dictate to his Fellow-labourers in the Ministry*, as dogmatically, as unfairly, and ' as ignorantly as his Holiness; and to impose his Opinions ' and Measures as infallible; and when Experience hath ' proved the one erroneous, and the other unsuccessful, his In- ' vention supplies his *Wisdom*, endeavouring to correct the ' past Blunder with a fresh one.

' But unless he could contrive that the Reading of *public Papers* should be prohibited to the *English*, as the ' Gospel is to the Followers of the Pope, his Frauds may ' chance to be detected; the Sect of *political Jansenists* in- ' crease; and his *Bills* not received with implicit Faith.

I had once resolv'd to pass over this Paragraph of our Author, which contains some indecent Reflections on our worthy Friend the *Cardinal*. Far be it from me, to disturb that sacred and mysterious Union between two great *Ministers*; by which, at the same Time, the *Papal Dominion* is strengthened in *France*, and the *Protestant Succession* supported in *England*.

But the *Craftsman* treats the *Minister* too roughly; on which Occasion our *Author* makes the following Reflection,

P. S.

P. S. ' For as the Brutality of an Executioner does not  
' prove the Innocence of him who suffers ; so it is possi-  
' ble for a Criminal to deserve his Punishment, though  
' one abhors the Hand that inflicts it.

It appears from hence, that it is the *Brutality of the At-  
tack*, and not the *Innocence of the Party attacked*, which  
hath induced the *Author* to publish these notable *Observa-  
tions* ; but is not the *Law* to be put in Execution, because  
*Jack Ketch* may sometimes behave himself a little but-  
cherly in his Office ?—I confess, indeed, that *Halters*,  
and *Axes*, and *Pillories*, and *Scaffolds*, are not very agree-  
able Objects either to a *good-natur'd* or a *wicked Man* ; but  
whatever *this Author* may think of them, I am sure his  
*Patron* will allow that they have been of some Use to his  
*Administration*, and ought not to be laid intirely aside.

P. 9. ' Many pompous Professions are daily made for the  
' *Design of their Undertaking*. Private Views were the  
' Mask of publick Good ; the Spirit of *Slavery* affects the  
' *Dress and Language* of the Spirit of Liberty ; the Wel-  
' fare of the Nation, and Loyalty to the King, are made  
' the plausible Pretences, for throwing amongst the Peo-  
' ple, such Doctrines as tend to the Destruction of his Govern-  
' ment.

' For a little while, indeed, all the Arrows in their  
' Quiver, seem'd to be directed solely at one Mark ; a  
' Gentleman, who happened to vent a Piece of guarded Trea-  
' son in the House of Commons ; preferring the Safety of the  
' Nation to the Preservation of the Minister.

But if I am rightly informed of that Affair, (which  
hath been so often exaggarated as a bloody-minded Vow)  
it was no more than a warm Expression, signifying his Re-  
solution to do what in him lay, to destroy the Power of the  
*Minister* ; for he immediately added, as a Reason, that he  
would otherwise destroy the Nation ; and if all his At-  
tempts to fulfil *this Vow* should prove unsuccessful, it is to  
be feared, that the *prophetical Part* of his Speech, will  
soon be too amply verify'd.

If *this Gentleman* made any additional Vow, not to eat  
or drink, till he had done the Nation this Piece of Service,  
the present, plump Condition of his Person, is a plain Proof  
that he hath broke it most flagrantly ; and he hath only  
rais'd his Adversary to a Parallel with *St. Paul*.

What

What  
first Mini  
quite up  
him in fo  
Prison, as  
amongst fa  
ciples, wh  
this he, w  
who now  
hance ?—  
the Saint  
Craftsman  
How thic  
a Miracle

P. 11.

lice, for  
lify this  
less Indu  
magnify  
tify his  
ploy'd ;  
ged and  
the Conti  
utmost In  
Coffee-h  
ons had  
shoods w  
cred Rec  
putation o  
was mad  
of Natu  
trampled  
Minerva  
bulous M  
the Sejan  
Menzikof  
licks gre  
new Foun  
But stil  
Adversari  
Quiet w  
ior's Ex

What an Honour is it for *St. Paul* to be the Type of a *first Minister* of three Kingdoms? If the *Sir* does not come quite up to the *Saint*, can it be denied that he resembles him in *some Circumstances*? Hath not the *Minister* been in *Prison*, as well as the *Saint*?—Hath he not been in Perils amongst *false Brethren*?—Hath he not renounc'd the *Principles*, which he once espous'd with great Zeal?—Is not this *he*, who formerly persecuted *frenchify'd Ministers*, and who now preacheth up the glad Tidings of a *French Alliance*?—O, may the *Sir Minister* never stand in need of the *Saint's Basket*?—How impotent is this *Ananias* of a *Craftsman*, who hath not been yet able to *open his Eyes*?—How thick and adherent must those *Scales* be, which scarce a *Miracle* can make to fall off?

P. II. ' However as the whole Stream of their Malice, for some Time, flow'd only in this Channel, to vilify this great Minister's Name; so, on the other hand, no less Industry and Art were used to extoll his Conduct; to magnify his Services; to brighten his Character; and fortify his Credit with his Prince. All Hands were employ'd; and all Engines set at work. Letters were forged and pretended to be intercepted at the Post-Office, in which the Continuance of his Administration was represented of the utmost Importance to publick Credit; the Press was loaded; Coffee-house Lyons, Table-Spies, and Bottle Companions had their Instructions given them; the grossest Falshoods were inculcated in the grossest Terms; the sacred Recesses of Families were invaded; the more sacred Reputation of the Fair Sex was violated; private Conversation was made the Subject of perjur'd Affidavits; and the Laws of Nature, Custom, Principle, Morality and Society trampled upon and broken.

*Minerva's*, *Furies* with double Trumpet, and all the fabulous Machinery of the Ancients, were introduced to oppose the *Sejanus's*, and *Wolfey's* of former Ages, and the *Menzikoffs*, *Cesaria's* and *Mackheaths* of later Dates. It all grew so familiar on both sides, that it occasioned even a new Foundery of those Letters.

But still the great Man was able to repel the Weapons of his Adversaries, by the Superior Temper of his Metal. His Quiet was invulnerable, (pardon the Impropriety of the Author's Expression, which is the Effect of his being already cry-

‘ brain’d of Epithets) and he contemn’d Accusations, which  
 ‘ his well-temper’d Conscience did not feel; he mistook the  
 ‘ Voice of the People for the Voice of his personal Enemies; con-  
 ‘ sider’d all their Clamour as the Effect of Competition,  
 ‘ Disappointment, and a Tax upon Royal Favour. Oh!  
 ‘ may he place this Tax to the Account of the Sinking Fund  
 ‘ in lieu of those Sums, which he hath taken from it!

When our Author made his pretty Observation, that the most illuminated Bodies have the deepest Shadows, he seems to have had St. Peter in his Eye, whom the People follow’d in Crowds, to be bless’d with the Sweep of his Shadow, as he pass’d by; and he wou’d, no doubt, have introduc’d this Apostle, as well as St. Paul, in his Pangerick, had it not been for that unlucky Circumstance in the History of his Life; *Silver and Gold have I none.*

Nothing is more observable than the sudden Transitions of this Author, and his Skill in jumbling incoherent Metaphors together, as will appear from the following Paragraph.

P. 13. ‘ But when this Scent became so cold, that political sportsmen grew weary of following a Pack of Animals, (now you see, they are Hounds) who were always barking at a Prey they could not wound, and following what they could not overtake; and that these Writers had rung the Changes (now they are Ringers) on the Words Corruption, Bribery, Male-Administration, Oppression and Injustice, till People were so habituated to the Vox & prateræa nihil, that the Peal laid those to sleep, whom the Ringers propos’d it should alarm.

He might have added five more Bells to this Peal, and made it compleat; French-Alliances, Depredations, Dunkirk, Hessians, Irish-Recruits; and if He had been at a little more Pains, He might have even furnish’d out a Dutch Chime.

But, dear Sir, let me advise you to be a little more sparing of your Metaphors, or to chuse them better. Take my Word for it, that the barking of Dogs, and the jangling of Bells, are two of the most unlikely Things you could have possibly hit upon, to lull any Body a-sleep. Why, a Man must read three or four Pages even of your own Works before he can possibly get a Nap, either in a Bell-fry or a Dog-Kennel.—But if the Craftsman’s Bells have laid Those

to sleep  
 Observat  
 stirring  
 necessar  
 them do  
 tron is m  
 to such  
 a-sleep,

The  
 more G  
 Name, v  
 it is wel  
 those M  
 gerous an  
 plain’d c  
 vours w  
 carriage  
 their ne  
 than all  
 the Cong  
 thor’s Di  
 of his M  
 either o  
 ry, is at  
 Law, an  
 Reasons  
 an Archb  
 his own  
 look afte  
 else wou  
 Motions  
 than ene

The  
 ing the  
 greatest  
 him Tru  
 hath be  
 ple, who  
 of Gama  
 Counsel  
 nought.  
 vances, v  
 when th

to sleep, whom he propos'd to alarm, why so angry good Mr. *Observer*? And wherefore do you run the Risque of disturbing the good People in their Slumbers, by these unnecessary Remarks?—I am sure it is your Business to let them *doze on* as long as they please; and I think your *Patron* is much oblig'd to Mr. *D'Anvers* for *ringing* them into such *political Lethargy*, just as Nurses *sing* their Children a-sleep, when they have a mind to be merry.

The succeeding Paragraphs ought to be treated with more Gravity and Respect, on Account of that *sacred Name*, which is introduc'd almost in every Line; though it is well known that his *present Majesty* had no Hand in those Measures, which brought the Nation into that *dangerous and uncertain Situation*, which he lamented and complain'd of in his *Speech* to his first Parliament. No Endeavours were spared, indeed, by the Authors of the Mis-carriages of the former Reign, to shift the Burthen upon their new Master; a more severe Attack on his Honour, than all the misconstrued Allusions of the *Craftsman*, from the *Conquest* to this Moment; for notwithstanding the *Author's Dilemma*, a King may be warn'd of the Iniquities of his *Minister*, without calling in question the Goodness either of his *Heart* or his *Head*; and to affirm the contrary, is at once to overturn all the political Maxims of the *Law*, and the Constitution of *England*. Princes may have Reasons, which it is not proper to declare. I have known an *Architect* left to finish a Building, in a very bad Style of his own contriving; and a very unskilful *Engineer* kept to look after a *Machine* of his own framing, because no body else would undertake to correct its constant, erroneous Motions, when it was more proper to pull it to Pieces than endeavour to set it right.

The next Paragraph charges the *Craftsman* with *flattering the King*, and *cajoling the Mob*. As to the *King*, the greatest Respect that can be paid to any Prince, is to tell him *Truth*; and I do not remember that any other Art hath been made use of by the *Craftsman*. As to the *People*, whom this Author calls the *Mob*, I answer in the Style of *Gamaliel*, (and yet I protest I am no *Parson*) if this *Counsel* is not founded on *Truth* and *Reason*, it will come to nought. It is impossible to make People uneasy with *Grievances*, which they do not feel. *Faction* is always impotent, when the Administration is *wise* and *honest*. It

It is remarkable, that all the Writers of *this Stamp*, are very angry with the People for reading and admiring the *Craftsman*. Our Author speaks of them; at the Beginning of his Pamphlet, like brute Beasts, having no *Understanding*; though I shrewdly suspect that his Anger proceeds from their discovering *too much Understanding*, to be *cajol'd* by him and his Patrons. This puts me in mind of Mr. *Sparkish* in the Play, who being sensible that his Follies laid him open to *Satire* and *Ridicule*, took up an Aversion to all Writers, and breaks out into the following Exclamation.—Damn all your silly Authors whatever; all Books and Boookfellers, by the World; and all Readers, courteous and uncourteous.

Let us consider the Circumstances of the Writers of the *Craftsman*, as they are stated by the Author; and here it is proper to take notice, that he set out with telling us, that it was his Design to *consider their Allegations, without entering into the Characters of Those, who advance them*; though he begins, in the very next Line, with calling Names; and, in this Place, They are said to be a Set of *idle, desperate Fellows, who have no Characters to lose, and nothing worse to fear; inur'd to Hanging*; (which is one of the worst Habits a Man can be addicted to) *perpetually declaring against the Pretender, and inculcating Principles absolutely destructive of his Interest*; yet at the same Time incensing the *present Government*. I believe I may add, that *these Writers* have no *Pensions, Salaries, or Gratuities* for their Papers, besides the weekly Contributions of their *loving Readers*.—From whence then can their *Expectations* arise? The *Great Man* attack'd (however *this Author* may flatter Him) is far from being an Object of *Envy* to any of them (as much as they are *inur'd to the Danger of Hanging*) and, whatever he may imagine, of personal Hatred to none. From whence then arises their *Zeal*? In my Opinion, *their Conduct*, according to this Description, seems to be more *Apostolick* than those of the *Minister*; for they must be whimsical Fellows beyond Imagination, who court *Preferment* by disobliging *Those, who can bestow it, and try to advance the Pretender's Interest, by preaching up Republican Principles*; which is so far from being true, that it is the universal Opinion, that for one *Jacobite* the *Craftsman* hath made, a certain great Man hath made his *Thousands*; and whosoever deals in the Manufacture of *Jacobite-making*, the *Minister* must always supply the Materials.

It is a fe  
ridiculous  
der's Views  
and I still  
sent, may,  
vanced by  
served the  
ons; but f  
*this Machin*

Many P  
of *Westmin*  
himself un  
and often p  
*Dogs* out o  
'Time, ma  
Care to w  
making; a  
the straglin  
that *Bass* k  
I call *Pan*

But, say  
sters to Pr  
defame the  
In Pursuan  
for Paralle  
Author is  
of the *La*  
stration, c  
not the *L*  
not the *L*  
*Providence*  
tecting ou  
posing the  
the *Crimin*

A *Wor*  
ing by, t  
lays the H  
ther Case

A great  
Conduct  
tle, we s  
Acquaint

It is a sensible Pleasure to every honest Man to see those ridiculous Doctrines, which gave any Life to the *Pretender's* Views, abandoned by all People of common Sense; and I still believe that the Constitution, as it stands at present, may, and must be supported by the Principles, advanced by the *Craftsman*. The *Pretender*, indeed, hath served the *Ministry*, upon several most important Occasions; but surely it is not altogether politick to employ *this Machine* upon so trifling a Subject as poor *Caleb*.

Many Persons now alive remember *Bass Brown*, Verger of *Westminster-Abbey*. He had but one Secret for keeping himself unrival'd in his Sovereign, the *Dean's* Favour, and often partaking of his Bounty; which was driving the *Dogs* out of the Church; but that he might, at the same Time, make his *Ministry* the more necessary, *Bass* took Care to whistle them into it. This may be call'd *Plot-making*; and when the Terror of his *Whip* had made all the stragling Curs forsake even the Cloisters, I am told that *Bass* kept a *Boy* hid in a Corner, who could bark. This I call *Pamphleteering*.

But, says our Author, *the Transition was easy from Ministers to Princes, and the same Methods, which had served to defame the one, were now employed to depreciate the other*. In Pursuance of this Design, *They recurr'd again to History for Parallels*.—I affirm that this Method of attacking an Author is mean and ungenerous. It is not the Language of the Law; which, in all Censures for Male-Administration, excludes the present Possessor of the Throne. It is not the Language of Conversation, nor of Gentlemen. It is not the Language of Religion; for without impeaching Providence, one may find Fault with his Agents. It is protecting our selves from the Shot of an Enemy, by interposing the Body of our Father.—But let us see who is the Criminal in this Case.

A Workman is digging in old Rubbish. A Servant standing by, throws the Dirt by Handfulls upon his Master, and lays the Blame upon the Digger.——Let me state another Case.

A great Lord is travelling a long Journey, under the Conduct of a Servant, whom, for want of a better Title, we shall call his *Fag-totum*. An honest Yeoman, an old Acquaintance of my Lord, accosts him after this Manner;

ner; ' My Lord, you are in a wrong Way; long; impassable; ill-accommodated; and beset with Robbers. Sir Harry the older and younger, and Sir Edward (your Ancestors) all came to fatal Accidents in taking this Route.'—My Lord, replies the *Fac-totum*, I desire your Lordship to observe the Insolence of this Fellow; who, without any Knowledge of your Lordship's Intentions, pretends to instruct your Lordship and Me, in what we must certainly know, and he is totally ignorant of; and This, forsooth, he is not satisfy'd to do, without reflecting upon your Lordship's Character; for of the three Gentlemen mention'd, one was the simplest Fellow in the World; the other a Bully; and the third the arrantest Whore-Master of his Time.' Upon which some high Words ensued between the *Fac-totum* and the *Countryman*. Then, says the *Fac-totum*, let us appeal to the *Country*, who ought to know; and calling up one of them and slipping a *Crown-piece* in his Hand, *am not I in the right, Tom?*—*To be sure, Master.* A second, a third, a fourth answered, and were rewarded after the same Manner. At last one took Part with the *Yeoman*.—*I remember you, Friend,* quoth *Fac.* *You were my Lord's Steward, and speak out of Spight, because you are discharg'd.*

I believe every Man, who is sufficiently informed, will allow the *Prince*, whom the Author mentions, to have all the good Qualities, which he hath enumerated, and many more. What distinguishes him from most Persons of his high Rank, is Sincerity and Integrity; and one may truly affirm, that an *honest Man* is a greater Character than the *greatest Monarch* without those Virtues. But, at the same Time, I will say that the great, personal Qualities of the *Prince*, are the most injudicious Topicks in the World for a *Minister* to insist upon, when *National Affairs* are evidently in a *bad Situation*; for, in such a Case, as much as the Character of the *Prince* rises, so much must his *own* sink.—Let us consider this Matter quite speculatively, without affirming or denying any Thing; but by Way of Supposition only. If a Nation should be bullied under a warlike *Prince*; bubbled under a wise *Prince*; or run in *Debt* under a frugal one; if their Swords should be pad-lock'd under a *Monarch*, whose secret Inclinations lean towards the Scenes of Action; if there should be many

*Ebb's*

*Ebb's* and  
of Peace  
whose Al  
Conjunct  
many na  
Shade of  
justly cor  
ried on,  
which it  
been ma  
which (t  
name win  
and Floo  
complai  
Measure  
*Minister*  
a Man of  
own Cou  
Quarrels  
pendanc  
Cafes.—  
been no  
but that  
have bee  
together  
*Vicissitud*  
where th  
the *Ebb's*  
rage; an  
Genius o

*This*  
*Method*  
ted out  
nag'd in  
because  
stinct *In*  
the Que  
One  
*Treaties*  
were as  
it would  
be as ea

*Ebbs and Flows, Vicissitudes and Fluctuations* in the Affairs of Peace and War, under a Prince of known *Constancy*, and whose Abilities are equal to his Application; such an unusual Conjunction of *Royal Virtues* and *Royal Beams*, amidst so many national Misfortunes, will undoubtedly make the Shade of the Minister still deeper. The People may very justly complain, in such a Case, that their Business is carried on, in a Congress, too much by the same Methods, by which it is managed at home; and that their Welfare hath been made too subservient to the Interest of another Nation; which (to use the Words of our Author) I am not able to name without blushing; for I must observe that these *Ebbs and Flows of the Power and Interests of Europe*, which he complains of, are so far from being any Excuse for bad Measures, that they are the properest Tools for an able Minister to work with; and are the most easily turn'd, by a Man of Parts and Dexterity, to the Advantage of his own Country; by never dipping it deep in any of the Quarrels of Europe; but keeping all its Princes in a Dependence on us, as their only Mediator and Resort in all Cases.—How weak is it therefore to urge that there have been no Errors and Defects in the Councils of Great-Britain; but that the *Vicissitudes and Fluctuations of human Affairs*, have been the Cause of our continuing, for so many Years together, in our present unhappy Situation, without any Vicissitude?—There is a certain Place in the World, where this Author's Friend knows very well how to turn the *Ebbs and Flows* of some Affairs, to his own Advantage; and it is extremely unhappy for England, that his Genius does not extend farther than that narrow District.

This Author seems to be very well acquainted with the Method of facilitating domestick Measures; and hath pointed out the true Reason why they are more easily manag'd in Parliament, than foreign Transactions at a Congress; because, in the former Case, each Particular finds his distinct Interest in a ready Compliance on the right Side of the Question.

One would imagine, indeed, by the Multiplicity of Treaties, which have been lately concluded, that they were as easily made as Acts of Parliament; and, perhaps, it would be happy for the Nation, if some of them could be as easily repeal'd.

He

He tells us, in the next Paragraph, *That our Credit is at as high a Mark as ever it was known to stand*; and that our *Trade*, though it is at present in a very *bad Way*, will some Time or other be in a *better*. But does he want to be told, that the *low Condition of our Trade* is one of the principal Causes of the *high Condition of*, what he calls, *our Credit*? I mean, that since People cannot employ their Money in *Trade*, they are forc'd either to buy *Stock*, or let it lye dead? But what is our *Credit*? Why, the *publick Debts*; which are not the *Riches*, but the *Poverty* of the Nation; so that if this Observation is true, we have no Reason to rejoice at the high Condition of the *one*, and ought to lament the very low Condition of the *other*.

Supposing we were to make *two Inventories*; the one of the *Minister*, and the other of the *Nation*, when it was deliver'd into his Hands; I am afraid we should find a prodigious Variation in the *Ballance* at present. It would seem too invidious a Task for me to expatiate on the surprising Increase of the *former*; and many People do not scruple to affirm, that the *latter* hath continued gradually declining in Proportion. They form, I hope without Reason, a long Bill of melancholy Particulars; *Alliances* inverted; exalting *those Powers*, which we ought to reduce, and depressing *those*, which we ought to support; impracticable Treaties; Hermaphrodite Measures, neither Peace nor War; Insults upon the Element, where we used to ride triumphant; Decay of Trade, without Abatement of Industry; Connivances at the Breach of the most solemn Stipulations; Complaints, where we us'd to threaten, and Supplications, where we were wont to compel; Troops, Taxes, and Increase of publick Debts; (the sole Fruits of *eighteen Years Peace*) and, to use the *Author's* Expression, that we are reduc'd to the *Option* of breaking with the *Emperor* or *Spain*; and, by pauning our most valuable Concerns into the Hands of a proud, exasperated Nation, to purchase a War with our *natural Allies*.

The next remarkable *Observation* of our Author, is a round Assertion, that the Charge of *Corruption* is intirely groundless. Perhaps, it might be dangerous for me to contradict him in this Particular, if I had not the concurrent Testimony of the *whole Legislature*, that *Corruption* prevail'd to a very great Degree *without Doors*, by the *glorious*

*Act,*

*Act*, wh  
*Bill*, wh  
*House of*  
it might  
*Doors*; f  
when th  
*Gaming*:

Beside  
of *Corrup*  
*Money*; a  
*Alas!* w  
when we  
speaking

' But,  
' made o  
' ation b  
' fallen l

How u  
agree wi  
these *Re*  
true, I th  
Person, c  
Condition  
*Decline*,  
loudly co  
They ha  
but mon  
and mark  
their *Odi*

*Where*  
State?—  
to have f  
THE *Min*  
ago, eng  
Hands;  
Administ  
Consequ  
Course o  
mities on  
flad o  
have bee  
of them

*Act*, which they made to prevent it for the future; and the *Bill*, which afterwards passed our present, uncorrupt *House of Commons*, is a Proof of their Apprehensions that it might have imperceptibly insinuated itself even *within Doors*; for Persons never tie themselves up from Play, but when they are conscious of some natural Propensity of *Gaming*.

Besides, our *Author* would willingly confine the Notion of *Corruption*, to the Practice of selling Employments for *Money*; and defies us to produce one *single Instance* of it.—*Alas!* what Occasion is there to give *Money* for Places, when we all know, that they are often got for a *Word* speaking?—*Aye*—and a *short one* too?

‘But, *says he*, had all these Representations they had made of the *Decline, Contempt* and *Corruption* of our *Situation* been *faithful Reports*, where must the *Odium* have fallen but on the *HEAD* of our *State*.’

How unfortunate is it for me, that I can hardly ever agree with *this Writer*? For supposing, as he does, that all these Representations of our Circumstances had been true, I think the *Head of our State* ought to be the last Person, on whom the *Odium* should fall. Whatever our Condition is at present, his Majesty found us in it. The *Decline, Contempt, and Corruption of our Situation*, were as loudly complain’d of, before he came to the Throne, as They have been since. It is therefore not only unjust, but monstrously insolent to tax Him with our Misfortunes, and mark him out to the People, as the proper Object of their *Odium* and *Resentment*.

*Where must the Odium have fallen but on the Head of our State?*—I’ll tell this *Author*. It ought, in my Opinion, to have fallen on the *HEAD of the Ministry*, or rather on *THE Minister* (if any such can be found) who had long ago, engrossed the sole Direction of all Affairs into his own Hands; who would admit of no Partner or Adviser in his Administration; but made himself answerable for the Consequence of his own wild Schemes; and, by a long Course of arbitrary Mismanagement, brought these Calamities on the Nation.

Had our Affairs taken a *prosperous Turn*, no-body should have been more ready than my self, to ascribe the Glory of them to the *Head of our State*; but to fix the *Odium* of

*unsuccessful Measures* on the *King*, and say that the *Demerit* would have been *only his*, is such an Insult upon the Throne, as I cannot think of without Horror. It is making a *Screen* of Majesty; an audacious Interposition of the sacred Character of the *Prince*, to protect the *Minister*; and all the *dull Flattery* that follows, is far from being any Extenuation of his *Guilt*.

He proceeds thus. 'Nor hath the indefatigable Affluity of Mr. *D'Anvers*, for the Service of his Majesty, confin'd it self meerly to the Advancement of his Honour as a *King*, but with equal Good-will, extended it self even to the Care of his *domestick Happiness*.

'In this View (for in what other could it be?) he hath, with a *Morality* not inferiour to his *Loyalty*, not only dared to insult the Majesty of the *best Queen*, but endeavoured to cast a Shade over the Virtues of the *best Woman*.

He then sits down, like a great *Apelles*, to draw her Majesty's Picture, and very judiciously begins with those Qualities, which bear the nearest Relation to his own Circumstances; as her *Liberality*, or Readiness to give; her *Affability*, or easiness to be solicited; and her *Benevolence*, or Good-nature to the *Officious*.

I shall take no Notice of his other *Familiarities* with her Majesty's Character; which can receive no Advantage from such coarse Daubing; but as all the Arrows, level'd at the *Craftsman*, have been taken out of this Quiver; and he is constantly charg'd with a Design against the *present Royal Family and Government*, I will endeavour to explain this Affair a little to Those, who have some *Understanding*, as well as *Passions*.

The Government of *England* consists of *three Parts*, or *Estates*, (the *King*, the *Lords*, and the *Commons*) who have *one Joint-interest*, though their *Powers* and *Privileges* are separate and distinct. This is call'd our *Constitution*; which every honest Man ought to regard in the *first Place*, and to consider each *particular Branch* of it in a *secondary Light* only. The separate Interest of the *Parts* is one Thing. The united Interest of the *whole* is another; and superiour to them all, when *distinctly* consider'd. Whoever contends for the *Constitution*, in general, must be a Friend to all the *Parts*, of which it is compos'd; whereas Those, who

who en-  
alt the  
an Ener  
Endeav  
on this

The  
with a V  
without  
*Liberty*  
that is c  
it alive.  
various  
his Cour  
and fom  
*general*  
*ty* hath  
vain and  
*cobite*  
have aff  
with a r  
*present*  
Govern  
*ciples*, a  
use the  
*on*, and  
is restr  
an *Oat*  
Princip  
*present*  
it is fou  
*volution*  
another.  
*sty*, as  
(which  
Crown  
till Tin  
Princip  
instill a  
most d  
vile *Fl*  
the wo

who endeavour by Adulation, or other base Means, to exalt the Power of any *one* Branch of it above the *others*, is an Enemy to the *whole*; which must be destroy'd, if his Endeavours succeed.—I will speak a little more plainly on this Subject; as every *Englishman* hath a Right to do.

The *Craftsman* hath asserted the Doctrine of *Liberty*, with a View to the Interest of the *Nation in general*, and without any *particular Applications*. He hath shewn that *Liberty* is the fundamental Basis of our Constitution; and that it cannot be preserv'd, without keeping the Spirit of it alive. He hath produc'd Instances, from History, of various Attempts, in various Reigns, against the *Liberty* of his Country; sometimes by *Ministers*; sometimes by *Kings*, and sometimes by *Queens*; which he hath apply'd to his *general Doctrine*; and shewn that when the *Spirit of Liberty* hath been preserv'd, all these Attempts have proved vain and abortive.—To say that he does this with a *Facobite View* (as the little Fry of Scriblers against him have asserted) is trifling and insignificant.—It is done with a manifest View to preserve the *Constitution*, and the *present Royal Family*; which was placed at the Head of the Government, to preserve the Constitution upon these Principles, and *no other*; for even the *HEAD of our State* (to use the *Author's* Phrase) is but one *Branch of our Constitution*, and ought to be look'd upon only in this Light. He is restrained by *Laws* as well as the *others*; and bound by an *Oath* to maintain Them?—I am sure This is the Principle of an *honest Briton*. It is the Principle of the *present Establishment*; and of the Revolution, upon which it is founded. Let it not be said, that I mention the *Revolution*, as a menacing Insinuation, or with any View to another. I mention it for the Honour of his *present Majesty*, as his Title is establish'd upon that *glorious Foundation*; (which ought never to be forgot;) and, I hope, the Crown of these Realms will continue in his *Royal Family*, till Time shall be no more; but it must continue upon this Principle of *Liberty*; and *Those Men*, who endeavour to instill any other Notions into his Royal Breast, are the most dangerous Enemies to his Government. They are *vile Flatterers*, and *detestable Sycophants*; who have been the worst Bane of Princes in all Ages.

The

The Argumentation of our Author, upon this Head, is therefore as awkward as his *Panegyrick*. He taxes the *Craftsman* with drawing a Parallel between *Edward the IVth's Queen*, and her *present Majesty*; and yet, at the same Time, gives the plainest Reason in the World, from the Matter of Fact mentioned by the *Craftsman*, that he could not mean it as such; *because the Circumstances do not agree*.—There is certainly a wide Difference between a Paralell, and an Example; between an Invective and an Admonition; between a Conduct, erroneous in some Particulars, and a Character absolutely vicious.——I will leave the World to judge, which of the *two*, most probably intends the *Ship-wreck*; he, who sets up the *Beacon*; or he, who takes it away?—Where the rough *Spirit of Liberty* hath hurt one Prince, the smooth, deceitful Voice of *Flattery*, hath destroy'd a Thousand.—*Charnock, King, and Keys*, (those execrable Conspirators against our immortal Deliverer, *King William*) were not so dangerous as a *Minister*, who endeavours to persuade his Prince, that every Piece of *extra-ministerial Advice*, is an Arraignment of his Conduct; and that all *Information from private Persons* reflects upon his own *Circumspection*.

Upon reading over the *Arret* against the *forty Advocates*, who have lately made an Attempt to revive the Power of the Parliaments of *France*, I cannot help thinking, that our Author had a Sight of it, before it was publish'd, and made it the Model of his Observations; for it is observable, that They both run in the *same Style*; and that the Principles of *Liberty*, which They condemn, are not very unlike.—These *Lawyers*, for Instance, assert, that, by the *Constitution of the Kingdom*, the Parliaments are the *Senate of the Nation*; the *sovereign Tribunal*, and *Depositories of the Laws of the State*; that They have the *Representative Character of the publick Authority*; and that the *Laws are true Conventions between Those, who govern, and Those, who are governed*.—These Doctrines are call'd, in the *Arret*, *A criminal Attempt to lessen the Respect of the People, for the King's Supreme Authority*; *seditious*; and *tending to disturb the publick Tranquility*. For this Reason, the *Pamphlet*, in which these pernicious Principles are contain'd, is order'd to be torn in Pieces; *Mr. Lottin*, the Printer (who seems to be the *Franklin of France*) is commanded

to

to produ  
have sub  
formal R  
suspende  
Rigour a  
Matter r

I need  
and the  
easily pe  
ment in  
sented d  
quility.

The  
which se  
Flattery  
vours to  
charges  
Liberty  
and yet  
in Relati  
though ea  
their Part  
to Faëtic

Upon  
Observa  
Factio  
ry.—  
sure the  
ten made  
per, fro  
it is dire  
ing all th  
Liberty  
lost, fir  
was still  
Governm

Nay,  
ther; t  
the Cray  
Paper,  
CEPTIO  
Liberty  
LONG su

to produce the *Written Copy* ; and the *forty Advocates*, who have subscribed it, have a Month allow'd them to sign a *formal Recantation* ; in Default of which, They are to be suspended from all their *Functions*, and left to the *farther Rigour and Severity of the Law*, as the Importance of the Matter requires.

I need not draw any farther Parallel between this *Arrot* and the *Observations* of our Author. The Reader will easily perceive that *Authority* supplies the want of *Argument* in Both ; and that the *Principles of Liberty* are represented destructive of *Government* and the *publick Tranquillity*.

The only Passage, in this *empty labour'd Declamation*, which seems to have any Meaning or Design, besides *Flattery and Abuse*, is That, where the Author endeavours to fix a Contradiction upon the *Craftsman*. He charges Mr. D'Anvers with having said that the *Spirit of Liberty and the Spirit of Fiction NEVER subsist together* ; and yet that, in the *Craftsman* of October the 3d, it is said, in Relation to the Case of the *Yorkists and Lancastrians*, though each Side contended to have a King of their own, neither Party would have a Tyrant. They sacrificed their Lives to Faction, but would not give up their Liberties.

Upon which, this *exquisite Reasoner* makes the following Observation.——This sure demonstrates that the *Spirit of Faction did reign, even among these Champions for LIBERTY*.——And who, I pray, ever deny'd it ?——I am sure the *Craftsman* and his Friend Mr. Oldcastle, have often made this Observation ; particularly in the very Paper, from whence our Author hath taken this Passage ; it is directly said that *We must not imagine, notwithstanding all the contrary Appearances in this Period, that the Spirit of Liberty was absolutely extinguisb'd. Though that Flame was lost, for the most Part, in the constant Glare of Faction, yet it was still alive ; and, by living, preserved the Constitution of our Governmeent during the whole Course of these Civil Wars*.

Nay, to expose the Sophistry of this Author still farther ; the *Observation*, which He instances, as a Proof of the *Craftsman's Self-contradiction*, is introduc'd in that very Paper, from whence He quotes it, as a memorable EXCEPTION to the general Proposition, that the *Spirit of Liberty and the Spirit of Faction are incompatible and cannot LONG subsist together*. I

I do not remember any Assertion of the *Craftsman* that a *Spirit of Liberty* and a *Spirit of Faction* NEVER *subsist together*. I apprehend, on the Contrary, that the Design of his Argument for keeping up the *Spirit of Liberty* is to defeat the Ends of a *Spirit of Faction*.

But such a Cavil as This, does not deserve a serious Answer; and I should have taken no manner of Notice of it, if it had not been the *only Point*, which bears the least Appearance of Reasoning, or even of an Objection against the *Writings of the Craftsman*.

To treat this Subject in a familiar Light; I take *Faction*, to be a well-looking, rantipole Strumpet; who happening to resemble *Liberty*, in some Features, takes upon her to personate the virtuous Lady; as some Gentlewomen of the Town have done Maids of Honour. She affects her Dress, Mein and Voice; often frequents the same Walks, and sometimes gets into the same Company; which is a plain Sign that the fair Lady, whom she represents, must be very amiable Herself; but though the Jade may draw in a Gully now and then, there is no Instance of her having ever impos'd on the *whole Town*.

To sum up the *Author's* whole Evidence, it appears that this same *Craftsman*, not having the Fear of God before his Eyes, hath wickedly plotted the Destruction of the *Minister*; and, proceeding in a Course of guarded Treasons, is guilty of legal Conspiracy against the present Government, by preaching up the *Principles of the Revolution*, and putting the People in mind of their ancient hereditary Liberties; that He hath for these four Years past, carried on an hellish Design of excluding the present *Royal Family*, by constantly asserting their Right; and of introducing Popery and the Pretender, by continually declaring against them. In short, that He is a Republican Advocate for the present Constitution; a Popish Whig; an Hanoverian Jacobite; and in all Probability, the secret Director of the Incendiaries at Bristol.

What can be done with such a mischievous and desperate Fellow:—He is so much inur'd to the Danger of HANGING, that to be sure He does not value an Halter a Straw; and our Laws are so strait-lac'd, that They will not allow us to deal with Him, as his seditious Brethren have been dealt with in France.

But

But as all extraordinary Cases require extraordinary Methods of Proceeding, I wonder our *Author* did not propose that all the Books, Pamphlets and Papers, which this wicked Incendiary hath dispers'd, should be carry'd to the Secretary of State's Office, to be torn in Pieces; that *Richard Franklin*, the Printer, shall be oblig'd to produce the written Copies, (if He hath not already burnt them;) and that *Caleb D'Anvers* shall, within the Space of one Month, sign a formal Retraction of all his pernicious Tenets; and submit Himself to the new Constitution of this *Author* and his Patron; That (as *Duke Trincalo* says) the Government may be suffer'd to drink in Quiet.

F I N I S.

